1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

616 groups of his moiety he would forever belong (Baldus, 1937 c). The alleged purpose of this assignment was to equalize the groups numerically, so that they could be paired for dancing; but, as each group danced separately, the explanation is probably a rationalization. In fact, the two divisions are not even approximately equal. Members of each group could be recognized by their facial painting. The Kadnyerú display round patterns, the Kamé stripes. (See Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 39.)

Nimuendajú's (1914, pp. 373–375) earlier report concerning the *Caingang* between the Tietê and Ijuhí Rivers, speaks of two moieties associated with the ancestral twins Kañerú and Kamé. The former was of fiery and resolute, but volatile, temperament, and of light, slim build. Kamé, on the other hand, was mentally and physically slow, but persistent. Each moity included three (formerly four) classes: Paí, Votóro, Pénye.

All natural phenomena are divided between these two moieties; the sun is Kamé, the moon, Kañerú. In general, slender and spotted objects belong to the Kañerú, clumsy and striped ones to the Kamé. Their use in ritual is confined to the appropriate group.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* lack moieties, but have five groups with distinctive sets of personal names and body-paint designs. Though recent genealogical inquiry failed to establish either strict inheritance of group membership or exogamy, the natives insisted that individuals bearing the same designs should not marry, so that a former patrilineal clan system is indicated (Henry, 1941, pp. 59, 88, 175 f.).

Marriage groups.—Concerning marriage rules between sub-
582 groups, Horta Barbosa (1913, p. 26) gives the following information:

> Marriages obey complicated rules depending on the groups [moieties] and subgroups into which the *Kaingang* families are divided. The most important of these groups are the Camens and Canberucrens; marriages can take place only between the men of one group and the women of the other. However, it must not be thought that it is licit for a Camen to marry any Canberucren for, in order to make things more complicated, there is a division into subgroups, fairly numerous. Individuals of a certain Kamé subgroup can only marry a woman of a certain Canberucren [Kadnyerú] subgroup, save for a few exceptions which confuse a question which otherwise should be so simple.

● 601 **Kinship terms.**—The relationship system is based on relative age. A man calls his father, his grandfather, and the men of their generations by the same term, and his mother and grandmother by another term. He uses a single name for all male and female blood relatives, excepting real parents and grandparents and grandparents' siblings and own children. One word (child) serves for all people much younger than ego and for the children of all people with whom he has sexual relations. There is a word for husband and another for wife. A single word applies to all relatives-in-law (Henry, 1941, pp. 177–178).

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their backs to the wall of existence, who have been hunted by the Brazilians and their enemies, the Kangdjá for two hundred years or more, and who have been torn asunder by bloody vendettas, ties created by passion are never really broken. A boy's sweetheart is *plų* and a girl's is *mbádn*. These are terms that they never fully relinquish, and the sense of status implied by these expressions is never quite lost. Although the terms as they are used between sweethearts have not the same significance as between husband and wife, they do indicate that there is an attachment which cannot be entirely broken and which may even be recognized by a woman's children after she has at last married someone else. When Nenggachá[9] was about to be killed by Kenggó, Anggló, the latter's wife dashed between her husband and his victim and grasped the lance that would have killed Nenggachá. He was her mother's lover, the Kaingáng say, and therefore she protected him from her husband.

The feeling that once a man and a woman have been lovers there has been established a relationship which, however tenuous its bonds and obligations may be, never fully loses its significance, is expressed in the Kaingáng use of terms of relationship. In line with their almost complete lack of feeling for social structure, the Kaingáng entertain contradictory ideas about their relationship terms. They have theories about these terms which they never put into practice in anything like a consistent way. Yet some of these unpracticed theories demonstrate a feeling about relationships that has an actual though subtle significance. The Kaingáng feel that the term *yágn* which means "father," but in a broader sense, "any man much older than I," denotes also a paternal relationship. The fact that they use it for men who have been their mothers' lovers is important once we have come to understand the attitude of the Kaingáng toward their love affairs. The man who has been their mother's lover is in some way associated with their father, and they owe him a certain allegiance that will become active in situations of conflict.

The Kaingáng are such enterprising lovers that one would imagine that a woman would call many of the men around her *mbádn* and that a man would refer to most of the women as *plų*. And this is true within certain limits. In making a detailed analysis for the ethnologist an informant carefully distinguishes between the women with whom he has had an affair and those with whom he has not. The number of the latter in a man's own age-group is small and might be even smaller if he were more careful to include not only those women with whom he has been on constantly friendly terms but also those with whom he has had little contact in the last few years. In generalized thinking, however, a woman speaks of all the men of her group[10] as *mbádn* and a man calls all the women *plų*. Thus the

[9] See p. 118. All these people are dead now.

[10] Her own extended family. See p. 50 for exact definition of this term.

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terms *cklá*, "my offspring," and *fag yi*, "my child," which every man or woman applies to individuals who are very much younger than he, come to have a significance that is intimately related to the entire sexual life of the Kaingáng. A mature man who has lead the normal philandering life of the average Kaingáng suspects that not a few of the children who have other putative fathers are really his. At any rate, since he had intercourse with their mothers he bears to them such relationship as springs from all such contacts. Just as their mothers are forever his *plá* these children are his *klá*. The fact that whole groups[11] of a hundred or more people are referred to as the *klá* of so-and-so, a very old man, reflects not only the adult Kaingáng practice of calling all very young people *klá* but also the deep-seated feeling of having an actual role in their procreation.

"Klendó's daughter, Pathó, is my child," said Vomblé. "How do you know," said I, "since Klendó also lay with her mother?" "Well, when two men lie with a woman they just call her child their child." But not only do men feel that their mistress's children are their children, but people whose mothers have had intercourse with the same man, whether as lover or husband, regard one another as siblings. The result of this socio-sexual outlook is to draw ever more closely together this small, closely inbred group of people. To the clearly defined and explicitly expressed ties of blood, which already connect them intimately, are added the subtler ties of sex, which, however unimportant they may seem at the moment, nevertheless endure in some measure and are capable of playing their part in life's crises. When Véye was sick with the grippe it was not his wife or his wife's sister's husband or some other relative who came to me to get medicine and food for him, but Kulá, his lover, a strong, aggressive woman a good fifteen years older than he and the wife of my best informant. When he at last died she mourned the longest—even longer than his wife.

The Kaingáng present, therefore, the picture of a society whose very structurelessness permitted the building of stable cooperating units around sex interests. Intrigues that frequently might have been the cause of trouble were often stabilized into lasting polyandrous and joint households, and even when they were not, they nevertheless established ties that were never completely dissolved. But although polyandrous and joint marriages were most valuable to their principals, most Kaingáng men and women are possessive enough to want to keep their spouses to themselves, with the result that 60 percent of the marriages are monogamous.[12] Usually when a man marries he looks forward to gaining as allies in the struggle for food

[11] These are the extended families. See p. 50.

[12] An analysis of 308 marriages taken from genealogies that represent about 100 years of Kaingáng history past and present, yields the following percentages: 60 percent monogamous, 18 percent polygynous, 14 percent polyandrous and 8 percent joint.

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the dead.[7] The only function of the marks is magical. When a person dies all the people around him paint themselves with their marks in order to frighten the *kuplêng* away. "It sees them and becomes afraid and goes." A widowed person, a *thâpẹya*, paints himself with marks other than his own on his return from his period of isolation in order that the *kuplêng* may not recognize him. About five years before my arrival a number of people added the circle design to their other marks because when Kemblén died he told all the people to change their marks "so that the *kuplêng* would see it and go away."

A number of kinship usages are explained on the basis of the marks. These will be discussed in the section on the kinship system. It is only necessary to say here that all such explanations are purely theoretical and do not support kinship usage.

The Kinship System

(1) *pl̨*, wife; women with whom a man has had sexual relations; women with marks different from a man, and with whom, therefore, such relationships are "permissible."

(2) *mbdá*, husband; men with whom a woman has had sexual relations; men with marks different from a woman, and with whom, therefore, such relationships are "permissible."

(3) *yógu*, father; grandfather; all males much older than Ego;[8] men who have had relations with Ego's mother.

(4) *nyŋ́*, mother; grandmother; all females much older than Ego; women who have had relations with Ego's father.

(5) *nyuugnyén*, all blood relatives excepting real parents and grandparents and grandparents' siblings and own children. All members of the same extended family. It is often used specifically for Ego's own brothers, sisters, and first cousins, and for anyone about Ego's own age. In this case the term becomes reciprocal. It may be used also for anyone a little older than Ego. All individuals having the same mark as Ego.

(6) *yuví*, all people somewhat younger than Ego.

(7) *yi*, child; all people very much younger than Ego and the children of all the people with whom Ego has had sexual relations.

(8) *klẹ*, offspring. Tapirs and dogs have *klẹ*, but to speak of an animal's *yi* provokes laughter.

(9) *yónbld*, (plural) *yígunbld*, all the blood relatives of No. 2 and No. 1. In a more limited sense, all the No. 5 of No. 2 and No. 1 with the

[7] See fn. 1, p. 175.

[8] Regardless speaking or spoken about.

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602 exception of second cousins and their descendants and first cousins once removed and their descendants.

(10) *lânglé*, co-spouse.

(11) *kaké*, relation. This term is not as strict in its application as No. 5, in that its use may extend outside the extended family. It is used regularly between cousins of all classes, rarely for aunt, never for brother or sister. It is a courtesy term for people not related by blood.

Although the major stress of this system is on relative age the culture actually fails to take cognizance of it in any formal way. In the distribution of food and property, for example, no one age class takes precedence over another. Nor does the principle of relative age play an important role in marriage. Marriage is on the whole between age-mates, although some informants seem to feel that the man should be older than the woman. Leadership is determined by personality factors, by *waikayú*, not by age.

The term *nyungnyén* expresses the attitudes within the extended families. Its use for blood relatives, combined with its extension to include a much wider group, indicates precisely how the Kaingáng feel about members of the same extended family even when they are not related by blood. Socially they are siblings to one another and the same blood flows in their veins, no matter what the actual conditions are.[9]

I have frequently pointed out the wide difference in affect between the relationships within the extended families and those that obtain between them. Since, therefore, the terms *nyungnyén*, *yavi*, *yi*, and *klą* are used almost exclusively for members of the same extended family it follows that they express a considerable amount of in-group affect. Since, also, the extended families are intensely inbred and the general sibling feeling is strong, there is a correlation here with the fact that the kinship system completely ignores questions of specific relationship. Since the kinship terms at the most, therefore, express only generalized blood relationship the most important correlations in the Kaingáng kinship system are with age pure and simple, and with the affect associated with the in-group.

In Chapter VII I pointed out that the Kaingáng do not keep to the theoretical formulation of their affinal relationships but that each man selects particular individuals for attention. Hand in hand with this goes the fact that although for all the Kaingáng the category of affinity[10] is the same each person uses the term *yónbld* in everyday life for a different

[9] An excellent example of this can be found on p. 122. Although Wanyeki and Kuvén were not blood relatives of Kãi they were his *nyungnyén* because they came from the same extended family.

[10] Relationship by marriage.

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group of affinities. There is an additional variability in the use of this term due to the fact that some individuals prefer to use the age term series rather than *yómbil*. Although some people are singled out as affinal relatives toward whom Ego has specific obligations he might never call them *yómbil*, preferring instead to use the age terms. 601 602

The significance of terms 1, 2, and 8 has been discussed in Chapter III, and the further implications of 3 have also been discussed in that chapter.

[p. 180 is blank]